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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 236



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLICY TOWARD THIRD WORLD SAID TO BE UNCHANGED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 81 p 37

[Article by Shen Yi [3088 0044]: "China Belongs to the Third World Forever"]

[Text] The leader of an African country recently visited China. He frankly said that he had heard that China was "blaming" Chairman Mao (the West propagated the idea that China was carrying out "de-Maoization") and had changed its foreign policy. This worried him very much. His apprehension had its cause. If Chairman Mao were being denigrated in a comprehensive manner, then the correct foreign policy he formulated would also be denigrated. Chairman Mao resolutely opposed hegemonism, resolutely supported the anti-imperialist and anticolonialist struggles of the people of various Third World countries; this had already deeply struck roots in the hearts of the people in the Third World. After Chairman Mao's death, was China going to continue to stand with the people of the Third World?

Chairman Mao's strategy of differentiating the three worlds was correct. China will never become a hegemonistic power; China belongs to the Third World forever. We want to continue to adhere to the foreign policy Chairman Mao formulated in his late years. Therefore, clarification of this point is very important to the people of Third World countries, and also very important to the people of China.

China's Policy Toward the Third World Has Not Changed

One of the questions about which the people of the Third World are concerned is the following: Since China is developing relations with the United States and other developed countries, does it oppose only Soviet hegemonism but no longer imperialism and colonialism?

The fact that China is opposing hegemonism jointly with some Western countries does not imply that it no longer supports the struggles of the people of the Third World or that it now ignores the interests of the oppressed nations. Conditions in Third World countries vary: some are suffering from Soviet hegemonistic expansionism, some regard the United States or other countries as their main threat, and some are still struggling against racist rule or Israeli expansionism and for national independence and liberation. As in the past, China will firmly stand on the side of the oppressed nations and peoples, oppose aggression and interference in Third World countries by external forces, firmly support their struggles to maintain their national independence and develop their national economies, and firmly support their struggles to oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

China's development of relations with the United States is not the same as supporting certain of the latter's erroneous policies toward Third World countries. The United States shows partiality in siding with Israeli and South African racism, supports South Korea in hindering Korea's reunification, and interferes with the internal affairs of certain countries, including China. All this is opposed by China. China maintains an independent and self-reliant foreign policy; this is not equivocal by any means.

China carries out economic exchanges with certain developed countries and absorbs certain advanced technology and capital from foreign countries. This benefits the construction of our socialist modernization; but China remains an underdeveloped country and is in the same situation as those developing countries which import foreign technology and take out foreign loans; it encounters many problems similar to theirs in the development of its national economy. China wishes to struggle together with other Third World countries for the establishment of a new international economic order.

China is still very poor today; its ability is often unequal to its ambition in wishing to render support to certain Third World countries. When China has made a success of its economy and when its national capabilities become stronger in the future, it will be able to take on more obligations toward certain countries of the Third World which are in difficulty and also to increase its contribution to the forces in defense of world peace. We have always been of the opinion that the construction of China's four modernizations constitutes not only a patriotic cause but also an internationalist cause.

Strengthen the Unity of the Third World

There are also some who are afraid of the unity between China and the Third World and who have therefore been manufacturing rumors and attempting to incite them to contention and drive a wedge between them.

The Soviet Union and Vietnam, for instance, are the ones that have fabricated the theory of the "China threat," alleging that China "threatens" its neighbors and the countries in Southeast Asia. Actually, China does not have a single soldier abroad, but it faces the Soviet Union, which deploys 1 million soldiers in the north, and Vietnam, which continues to fire its guns in the south; the one being threatened is China. Vietnam has sent its soldiers into Kampuchea and it controls Laos; the countries being threatened are indeed those of Southeast Asia. These are all facts for everybody to see, and the charges are unworthy of any refutation. The Soviet and Vietnamese big and small hegemonisms, in creating rumors to frighten others, are banking on nothing except driving a wedge in the relations between China and the Southeast Asian countries and thereby weakening the antihegemonist forces. This simply cannot be done. But from this we can well see, on the other hand, that the Soviet hegemonists are very much afraid of the unity between China and the Third World countries; this reminds us that we must treasure this unity very much.

There are also some who frighten others with the Chinese Communist Party. This is a replay of Dulles' old tune. That the Chinese believe in communism is China's internal affair. The Chinese revolution was not imported from abroad, nor will

it be exported to foreign countries. The path a country selects is that country's own affair, and has nothing to do with China. As for China, precisely because of the leadership provided by the Communist Party, it was able to achieve independence and liberation, it was able to oppose powerful countries and advocate fairness in international struggles. The China led by the CCP is the enemy of hegemonism; only hegemonism encroaches upon other countries' sovereignty and territories and endangers world peace.

China has always taken the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the norm in handling international relations; China is determined not to interfere with other countries' internal affairs; it advocates equality between big and small countries alike, opposes the manhandling of the weak by the strong, and never imposes anything on others. China has a very outstanding reputation in international intercourse.

Another leader of an African country gave a talk in Beijing on his country's experience. He said: We believe China entirely, because China provides aid only according to other countries' needs and never interferes with other countries' internal affairs; but the Soviet Union single-mindedly concentrates on its ambitions, its hegemony and its world strategy. The country that first recognized this fact was China. You have reminded many countries, so that they are now prepared. We are China's old friend, and sometimes we have also received "aid" from the Soviet Union, but the "aid" from the Soviet Union somehow is always accompanied by interference.

From this we can see that it is completely useless for anyone to frighten others with the China "threat" or "Communist China." As for the question of whether when China becomes rich and strong it will also commit aggression against others, China has already declared that it will never become a hegemonic power. One who adheres to Marxism is not prone to doing things beneficial to himself and detrimental to others.

9255

CSO: 4005/53

PARTY AND STATE

USE CARE IN COMPARING ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHINA, WEST

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Zhou Zhixing [0719 1807 5281]: "Horizontal Comparisons and Vertical Comparisons"]

[Text] Some persons say that when young people survey China's economy, they like to make horizontal comparisons; comparing China with the economically developed capitalist nations, they feel that the accomplishments have not been all that great and that the socialist system is not all that superior. The older generation, however, likes to make vertical comparisons; comparing China with the historically older China, they feel that the accomplishments have been great and that the socialist system is much superior.

I think that they exaggerate the difference between the ways the "two generations" look at issues. In fact, although there are some among the older generation who only "make vertical comparisons," they are few in number, and although there are some among the young people who only "make horizontal comparisons," they are not numerous. What is worth noting is that there are actually a few people who use the pretext of "making horizontal comparisons" with present-day society to deny the superiority of the socialist system, and this view can readily deceive young people.

In analyzing anything, one should look at its relationship to other things as well as look at the changes within the thing itself. In talking about a nation's socialist system, one should both make horizontal comparisons and vertical comparisons and combine the "horizontal comparison" and the "vertical comparison."

First of all, one should consider that a long period of feudal control and imperialist aggression made China's social production backward and the people's standard of living impoverished. China's socialist system was built on this foundation. If you take this as the point of departure for making comparisons, you can see that the achievements in construction in new China in the 32 years since its founding have been enormous, and that the position of the people's government and the improvements in the standard of living are unprecedented. If you depart from this historical fact and just use China's present condition to make a so-called "horizontal" comparison with the developed capitalist countries, then you cannot come to a correct conclusion. This comparison is as unreasonable as ridiculing a man recently cured of a long illness for not being as strong as an athlete.

Secondly, when making "horizontal comparisons" you should note that comparability of facts and things in common are preconditions for comparing the two facts. When comparing nations, you should look at the national situations. If the national situations are different, then there is no way they can be compared. Some people compare China with such economically developed countries as the United States and Western Europe and [nations], as a result they become very dejected. The population of these countries is small, the average amount of arable land per person is large, and they began early to develop industrially. If you were to set aside these factors, how could you explain the problems in comparing steel output, scientific and technical levels, and standards of living? If you compare our national situation with that of similar countries (such as India), then you can see that China's level of productive forces and standard of living is superior to theirs. Of course, this is not to say that you cannot compare production levels and living standards with those of developed countries. But in the comparison, you should not forget China's situation or underestimate its capabilities, but should look at the difference and further intensify the urgency of the "four modernizations."

Thirdly, in carrying out "horizontal comparisons" you should mainly compare the rate of economic and cultural development. In the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, although we have suffered destruction from imperialism, hegemonism, and the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, we ourselves have committed many errors and now must carry out an economic readjustment. Nevertheless, in the past 32 years the rate of China's economic and cultural development has still exceeded that of the majority of capitalist countries. This is a demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system.

Fourthly, in comparing the weaknesses of the socialist system, you cannot look just at material things, but you must also look at spirit. Some people are dazzled by the gaudy material life and colorful high-quality goods of capitalism and do not make a conscientious study, so they come to a ready conclusion and say that "capitalism is better than socialism." They do not see that the capitalist system creates its own maladies which it cannot overcome, and that these maladies become more outstanding daily. Take the United States for example. The United States can send rocketships to the moon and have every family possess a car and an electric refrigerator, but it cannot resolve the daily more serious social problems of robbery, murder, drugs, and suicide. Although such a society has a high standard of living materially, can the people have many blessings to speak of? Of course, China's productive forces are not developed and the people's standard of living is not high, but the lives of the people are protected, their spirit is full of vitality, and society is stable. In the long view, it has even brighter prospects ahead.

As long as you pursue "horizontal comparisons" and "vertical comparisons" in seeking truth from facts, you can come to the correct conclusions: 1. Although we have had several setbacks, our accomplishments since the founding of the PRC have still been enormous and are proof that the socialist system is vigorous and superior. 2. Compared with the developed capitalist countries, China's present economic and cultural level still is pretty far behind, and we must struggle to catch up. 3. There is only one way to revive China, and that is, under the leadership of the CCP, to summarize the lessons of historical experience, uphold the socialist road, and fully develop the superiority of the socialist system.

Parochial arrogance is ridiculous; loss of confidence is tragic.

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CSO: 4005/23

PARTY AND STATE

MEANING OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Ji Buwu [0679 1580 2976]: "An Elementary Talk on the Content and Characteristics of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] It is pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State": "Socialism must have an advanced spiritual civilization." This is a scientific conclusion derived by our party according to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the practical experience of socialist construction. For many years in the past, because we were subject to the influence of leftist mistakes in our work, and especially because of sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the building of our socialist spiritual civilization encountered considerable interference. Our study of socialist spiritual civilization was also inadequate theoretically. Today, the people of our country face the great task not only of building an advanced material civilization but also of building an advanced spiritual civilization. Therefore, theoretically strengthening our study of socialist spiritual civilization will doubtless be of great significance to the promotion of the construction of our modernization.

In the general sense, the so-called spiritual civilization means the state of progress concerning man's intelligence (education, science, culture, etc) and ethics (ideals, beliefs, sentiments, customs, etc). Man's social development has had its own intellectual and ethical content in each period of civilization. Then what is the "advanced spiritual civilization" we are talking about? In his speech in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Ye Jiangying said: "Along with the building of an advanced material civilization, we must at the same time improve the educational, scientific and cultural level and the health level of the whole nation, establish lofty revolutionary ideals and revolutionary moral customs, develop a noble, rich and colorful cultural life, and build an advanced spiritual civilization." At the central work conference at the end of 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The so-called spiritual civilization does not just mean education, science and culture (these are entirely necessary), but also communist ideas, ideals, beliefs, morality, discipline, a revolutionary stand and principles, comradely relations between men, etc." This means that the socialist spiritual civilization mainly includes: a highly developed educational, scientific and cultural level, a Marxist worldview, lofty revolutionary ideals and communist moral customs, strict

organizational discipline, a firm revolutionary stand and principles, comradely relations between men, a patriotic spirit and the spirit of building an enterprise through arduous effort.

In the past, a certain point of view held that socialist spiritual civilization mainly meant communist morality; this was incomplete. Because, if we take the term "civilization" alone, its content already includes material civilization and spiritual civilization, both of which indicate the state of progress of human society in contrast to "barbarity"; both of them encompass their respective highly rich content and are relatively independent of each other. Hence, insofar as spiritual civilization is concerned, it falls far too short to take morality as its main content and to have it reflect human society's state of progress in the aspect of its spiritual civilization. Spiritual civilization should include such important content as education, science and culture.

Another point of view held that education and science constituted productive forces and that it would be inappropriate to place them in the realm of spiritual civilization. Actually, education and science may well be placed in the realm of spiritual civilization. Education includes both the education of man in reproduction through labor power, which itself belongs to the category of productive force, and the education of man in his thinking, art, etc, which properly belongs to the realm of spiritual civilization. Marx said: "In order to change man's original nature, to enable it to acquire techniques and skills of a given labor unit and develop into a proficient and specialized labor force, we must have definite education or training" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 195). This shows that when Marx spoke of education he meant something very specific, he spoke of it in conjunction with the factor of productive force in terms of "labor force." Hence, we cannot negate education because of this; in a sense, education may also be included in the realm of spiritual civilization.

From the dialectical-materialist point of view, spiritual civilization came into being only along with the development of man's productive forces up to a certain degree, and it also develops along with the development of such productive forces. Engels divided the development of human society into three periods: the unenlightened period, the barbaric period, and the civilized period. He said: "The civilized period is one in which man learns about further processing of natural products and one in which real industry and art come into existence" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 73). The various forms of human society are bound to have a spiritual civilization corresponding to their respective characteristics. What we have mentioned as "advanced spiritual civilization" is precisely the inevitable result of human society developing to the socialist stage and also the result of the forward development of man's spiritual civilization. What are the characteristics of socialist "advanced spiritual civilization"? I think there are mainly two:

First, "advanced spiritual civilization" is the term for the advanced development of socialist spiritual civilization. That is to say, in terms of the prescription of its quality, it is of a socialist nature; this is fundamentally different from that of spiritual civilizations of all social forms prior to the capitalist society. In terms of the prescription of its quantity, it is not a low spiritual civilization but a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization.

Second, "advanced spiritual civilization" has Marxism as its own guiding ideology. Building an "advanced spiritual civilization," in the final analysis, is to foster and train socialist new men, and the formation of such new men's communist ideology and the cultivation of their communist morality also cannot depart from the guidance of Marxist theory. If it were separated from Marxism, socialist spiritual civilization would lose its own scientific foundation and people would lose their direction of advancement and destination. Hence, we can see that Marxism is the ideological foundation for building an advanced spiritual civilization.

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CSO: 4005/47

PARTY AND STATE

'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' DEEMED NOT ALL MAO'S FAULT

Harbin XUE LI LUN [STUDY THEORY] in Chinese No 8, 1981 p 14

[Article: "How Should We Understand the Complex Social Historical Factors Leading to the Outbreak and Continuation of the 'Great Cultural Revolution'?"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" points out that aside from being the direct result of Comrade Mao Zedong's errors in leadership, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was also the result of complex social historical factors which gave rise to it and allowed it to last as long as 10 years. The "Resolution" has made a penetrating and comprehensive exposition and analysis of these social historical factors.

To earnestly study these discourses in the "Resolution" is absolutely necessary. Some of our comrades are prone to see only the direct cause--Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes--and fail to see the complex social historical factors. Therefore, they attribute the mistakes to an individual, or even try to search for roots from the quality of the leader himself. An understanding like this is obviously erroneous.

Lenin pointed out that the reason why the theory of historical materialism is correct is "precisely because of its approach, which stipulates in a most precise and affirmative way that an individual factor is in the end of social origins." Historical figures might have played an important role in social development, but it does not mean that history can be created by a certain individual. It is a mistake to attribute all historical achievements to the "historical heroism" of an individual. Similarly, it is also erroneous to attribute the causes of historical setbacks to him because it runs counter to historical materialism. We must always go beyond the individual factor to analyze the underlying complex social historical factors.

The general trend of the history of human society is to move forward in accordance with its own intrinsic laws, and the rise of every particular historical event is the result of actions of many factors. Consequently, the course of history is a complex and lively one. Engels firmly felt that the development of history will under no circumstances be motivated by a certain kind of "sole decisive factor." Even if we are talking about the economic factor, which is the most important social factor, it is not permissible to regard it as the "sole decisive factor." He told us that history is manifested as the interaction of many factors, which

are economic, political, legal, philosophical, or religious, etc., is expressed in the conflicts of many different wills, and is moving forward under such complex interactions. "As a result, there are innumerable interrelated forces and parallelograms which will give rise to a general historical outcome and that is called a historical event."

Judging from this, when we analyze such an important historical event as the "Great Cultural Revolution" or evaluate such a great historical figure as Comrade Mao Zedong, we can no longer attempt to search for a certain kind of "sole decisive factor" and thereby regard Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes as the sole cause, but rather we must notice a great many of the "interrelated actions" of social historical factors and analyze social historical causes.

Just as it has been pointed out in the "Resolution," social historical causes comprise various aspects such as: that the history of our socialist movement is not a long one and many more laws remain to be formulated; that our party has long been influenced by the historical conditions in our country; that certain conceptions and arguments of Marx and Lenin have been misinterpreted or dogmatized; that we are also influenced by some international factors; and that some people as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng, harboring ulterior motives, made use of the errors of our party and inflated them, and so forth. As Engels said: "even the traditions which exist in our minds may produce certain effects on us, although they may not necessarily be decisive." Because of the effects exercised by the feudal traditions which have been shaped over a long period of time, it also is impossible for us to prevent the phenomenon of personality cult from arising or to have it checked. "The interaction among all these factors" has constituted the complex social historical cause which gave rise to the "Great Cultural Revolution." Only by getting a clear understanding of these complex factors can we correctly evaluate the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought in order to clearly understand that Mao Zedong's mistake was, after all, the error of a great proletarian revolutionary, and realistically sum up the historical experiences and lessons so as to avoid recurrence of the tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and to ensure that the cause of socialism will move forward smoothly.

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CSO: 4005/52

PARTY AND STATE

INCORRECT ATTITUDES TOWARD MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT DECRIED

Harbin XUE LI LUN [STUDY THEORY] in Chinese No 8, 1981 p 21

[Article: "Why We Are Opposed to the Two Incorrect Attitudes Toward Mao Zedong Thought?"]

[Text] On the question of how to treat Mao Zedong Thought, two incorrect attitudes have been pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China."

One is the attempt to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and its guiding role in the revolution and construction of our country just because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years.

The other is the practice of adopting the attitude of turning the words of Comrade Mao Zedong into dogma, thereby regarding whatever Comrade Mao Zedong said to be unalterable truth only to be repeated and copied blindly as is, or even the unwillingness to realistically admit the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years, attempting instead to uphold these mistakes in new practices.

Why we are opposed to these two attitudes? The reasons are:

First, both these attitudes fail to distinguish Mao Zedong Thought, a scientific theory shaped through protracted historical trials, from the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, yet a distinction here is absolutely necessary. Mao Zedong Thought, coming into being and developing in the course of the Chinese revolution, is the crystallization of the collective wisdom of our party and a summing-up of the victories in the gigantic struggles of the Chinese people.

Of course, Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years, however, we must distinguish these mistakes from Mao Zedong Thought. To question or negate Mao Zedong Thought just because of these mistakes would be, in fact, to question or negate the glorious image of the party, and that would lead to a gross historical error. On the contrary, it is not correct either if it is assumed that the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong also belong to the realm of Mao Zedong Thought and should not be redressed.

Second, both of these two erroneous attitudes are the results of metaphysical, subjective and one-sided mistakes made from different angles. According to these

two erroneous attitudes, it seems that "a great leader will never make mistakes," or "once he makes mistakes, he is no longer a great leader." Using these attitudes as a basis to study problems "is to use isolated, static and one-sided viewpoints to look at the world." It denies the motion, change and development of things and looks upon everything in the world as isolated from each other and never changing. Even though they are different in forms of expression, they are essentially the same, that is to say, metaphysical and one-sided. In order to correctly evaluate the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, the scientific attitude of dialectical materialism and historical materialism must be adopted. His mistakes cannot be concealed because of his immense contributions and, similarly, his immense contributions cannot be obliterated nor can Mao Zedong Thought be denied because of his mistakes. Only by seeking truth from facts to affirm the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought can the cause of socialism in our country go forward smoothly.

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CSO: 4005/52

PARTY AND STATE

RETURN OF TAIWAN SAID TO BE INEVITABLE TREND

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 81 p 1

[Report: "Return of Taiwan to the Motherland Is the Trend of the General Situation and the Direction of People's Expectations--Provincial CPPCC Convened a Forum of Personalities of Various Circles Yesterday To Express Support for Chairman Ye's Talk and Indicate Readiness to Make Contributions to the Unification of the Motherland"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, the provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference convened a forum of personalities of various circles to hold discussions on Chairman Ye Jaingying's talk on a further explanation of the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the principles and policies for realizing peaceful reunification.

The forum was presided over by Zhang Boquan [1728 3124 3123], head of the united front department of the Guangdong Provincial CCF Committee and deputy chairman of the provincial CPPCC.

Participating in the forum were responsible persons of the provincial CPPCC, the provincial office of councilors, the province's various democratic parties and groups, and the industry and commerce association, plus the original KMT uprising generals.

Speaking at the forum at various times were: Chen Yilin [7115 0122 2651], Cheng Yiming [4453 0001 7686], Zeng Tianjie [2582 1131 4634], Li Jizhi [2621 3381 0037], Wu Zhongxi [0702 0112 4406], He Baosong [0149 1405 2646], Zheng Jingying [6774 2533 3853], Zhang Bochuan [1728 0130 2938], Wu Juetian [0124 6030 1131], Chen Zupei [7115 4371 3099], Yur Han [7189 3352], Zhang Zianqi [1728 7359 1477], Chen Zibin [7115 1311 1755], and Hu Weifu [5170 0251 1133]. They said that Chairman Ye's talk further explained the principles and policies on Taiwan's return to the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification; these are now even more clear and more concrete than the great policy principle on achieving the peaceful reunification of the motherland pronounced in the 1977 New Year's Day NPC Standing Committee "Message to Compatriots in Taiwan." They not only reflect the wishes of the mainland brothers but also the wishes of the Taiwan brothers, the Hong Kong and Macao brothers and the overseas brothers. The speakers said they completely uphold and firmly support these principles and policies.

They held that Taiwan's return to the motherland and accomplishment of the great cause of the motherland's reunification are the trend of the general situation and the direction of people's expectations, constituting an irresistible historical tide. Chairman Ye's talk is bound to promote the development of this tide even more forcefully. They expressed the belief that after the Taiwan brothers listened to the broadcast of this talk, they are bound to promote the great cause of the motherland's reunification with even greater enthusiasm and greater courage. They hope that the Kuomintang authorities will put national interests above everything else, forget previous ill will, and join hands with us in accomplishing the great cause of national reunification for the benefit of our posterity and the glory for our nation.

Those comrades who made these statements also indicated that they definitely will make contributions toward the return of Taiwan to the motherland and the accomplishment of the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

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CSO: 4005/47

PARTY AND STATE

EXERCISE OF LITERARY CRITICISM STRESSED

Shenyang YALUJIANG WENXUEYUEKAN [YALUJIANG LITERARY MONTHLY] in Chinese No 6, 1981 pp 71-72

[Article by Liu Xiaoyan [0491 2400 3508]: "Literary Criticism and the 'Double-Hundred' Principle"]

[Text] "Literature and art must have criticism." This statement made by Lu Xun 46 years ago is fully true today.

Literary criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle used in literary circles; it is an important means by which the prosperity and healthy development of literary creation is guided and promoted. Literary criticism and literary creation are two mutually supplementary and complementary aspects in the literary realm, neither of which can be dispensed with. In order to insure that literature does not deviate from the direction of serving the people and serving socialism, and in order to help readers and audiences improve the level of their appreciation so as to better demonstrate the social functions of literature and art, we must regularly exercise literary and artistic criticism.

Some comrades put literary and artistic criticism in opposition to the "double-hundred" principle. They can accommodate little critical opinion, as they will only permit people to say good things about their works but not bad things, and when they hear someone say something bad, they immediately allege that that person is swinging the stick. Such a viewpoint and attitude are very wrong.

In implementing the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend," we must of course guarantee for literary and artistic workers a wide world of individual creativity and individual taste to the maximum, a wide world of ideas and fancies, form and content in their works; but implementation of this "double-hundred" principle means, at the same time, not abandoning the necessary ideological and artistic struggle, not dismissing the theoretical foundation of Marxism, and not dismissing the four basic principles. No one can understand the "double-hundred" principle to mean lacking in all scruples and doing whatever one pleases or to mean bourgeois liberalization. When we implement the "double-hundred" principle, we must allow both a hundred flowers to bloom and a hundred schools of thought to contend; we must allow both free development and free discussion. In order to discuss and contend, we must allow the expression of different opinions; we must allow readers, audiences and critics to

criticize the product. This shows that launching literary and artistic criticism is an intrinsic part of implementing the "double-hundred" principle. It is entirely wrong to oppose literary and artistic criticism under the pretext of implementing the "double-hundred" principle. At present, in particular, it appears to be especially necessary to carry out appropriate criticism against a certain leftist trend and liberalization tendency in literary and artistic creation. Only when literary and artistic criticism is developed can literary and artistic thinking become lively and literary and artistic creation advance along a healthy course. "If people's mouths are shut in all cases and then it is said that the literary circles are now clean, the results will be contrary to what is attempted" (Lu Xun: "Decorative Literature: Occasional Notes from Reading (3)"). With regard to problems which appear in literary and artistic creation, especially contentious problems, if they are not pointed out in time and subjected to discussion and solution, the direction of literature and art serving the people and serving socialism is liable to be affected. In a word, repulsing and tending to resist the exercise of literary and artistic criticism is altogether unwholesome.

On the other hand, we should also see that there really are some comrades who forget all about the "double-hundred" principle when they talk about launching literary and artistic criticism. They take a single point as the whole front, and replace the whole with a part, talking as if the literary and artistic situation in the 4 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" has been all bad; they have developed a special sensitivity toward "the stick" and they easily turn a literary and artistic issue into a political issue involving whether or not the work should be denigrated. Such an attitude is also unwholesome.

Comrades with this kind of attitude do not understand that our literary and artistic criticism is conducted under the guidance of the "double-hundred" principle. This kind of literary and artistic criticism follows literary and artistic laws, observes literary and artistic democracy, stresses the scientific attitude, and adheres to the principle of seeking truth from facts. It should be fully based on persuasion and not on simplification and crudeness, arbitrariness and tyranny; it should follow the democratic mode of discussion and not resort to administrative orders by using power to suppress others; it should criticize in order to help others and not resort to sarcasm and ridicule, abuse and attack. In particular, literature and art in these few years have basically followed and implemented the principles and line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and in general have maintained the four basic principles. In the face of such a basic fact, our literary and artistic criticism should further recognize that along with the identification of problems, it must at the same time not deny the good situation on the literary and artistic front. The literary and artistic history of the more than 30 years since the founding of our state has suffered enough from the subjective and arbitrary, simplistic and crude type of literary and artistic criticism; we must seriously remember this lesson and never tread the fallen track again. The "double-hundred" principle is a long-term, fundamental principle; even when some works exhibit defects and faults or get into serious problems, we should still not doubt, shake or violate this principle. At present, when we are proceeding to solve certain problems in literature and art, we must likewise not forget this principle. The tasks of literary and artistic criticism under the guidance of the "double-hundred" principle include criticism of what is bad and also affirmation of what is good; they include pointing out

existing problems and also summing up results already achieved. As Lu Xun said: "The duties of a critic are not just to eliminate bad weeds but also to water good flowers" ("The Huagai Collection: Not Just Idle Talk (3)"). In fulfilling his duties, a critic should not emphasize one at the expense of the other.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his "Talk at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art": "Literary and artistic criticism is a complicated question; it requires many specialized studies." Today, some comrades who like to dally with criticism not only lack specialized studies in respect to literature and art but also lack basic cultivation in literary and artistic theories. Their literary and artistic criticisms often do not proceed from the works themselves or from life but from their own likes and dislikes, from political concepts. This kind of literary and artistic criticism tends easily to deviate from the "double-hundred" principle. Similarly, certain comrades who are engaged in creation only like to talk about "relaxation" and do not like to hear criticism; they, too, are liable to deviate from the course of the four basic principles. Whether they are comrades who dally with criticism or comrades who are engaged in creation, all should seriously learn some Marxist fundamental theories in literature and art, seriously learn something about the party's series of principles and policies concerning literature and art, so as to improve the level of their literary and artistic criticism or their literary and artistic creation.

People's authors and critics, make your positive contributions for literary and artistic prosperity and development in the new era of socialism!

9255

CSO: 4005/51

PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION ADVOCATED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 81 p 3

[Commentary by Ling Feng [0407 1496]: "We Should Solemnly Criticize the Tendency of Bourgeois Liberalization"]

[Text] Li: Since the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the whole party has been studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" in order to further unify our thinking and unite ourselves together with the "Resolution" and look forward. Today, the national forum on problems on the ideological front suggests that we must change the state of laxity and feebleness that prevails in our ideological and political leadership and dare to criticize and overcome various erroneous tendencies, especially the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. Is this consistent with our study and implementation of the spirit of the document of the Sixth Plenary Session?

Wang: It is consistent, and the two are not in contradiction to each other. Because the "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session points out: "The fundamental purpose of our summing up of the 32 years of historical experience since the founding of our state is to proceed on the basis of the four basic principles of adhering to the socialist path; adhering to the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the proletarian dictatorship; adhering to Communist Party leadership, and adhering to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to further concentrate the will and strength of the whole party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities of the country under the great goal of building a socialist modern power." For this reason, the "Resolution" also points out: "We must correctly use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome the various erroneous ideas which deviate from the party's correct principles." We should say that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, conspicuous results have been achieved on the ideological front, including such aspects as literature and art, theory, news and publications. But we cannot but see that there have also appeared tendentious problems worthy of our attention, of which the more salient at present is the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. We still recall that after the Third Plenary Session, the party Central Committee immediately pointed out: Along with the continued emancipation of our thinking and the cleansing of leftist influence in our guiding ideology, we must at the same time prevent and overcome the tendency of liberalization deviating from the four basic principles. Since that time, some comrades continue to violate the four basic principles. At present, in certain

departments and certain localities, leadership on the ideological front still exhibits certain tendencies of simplification and crudeness; this cannot be overlooked or denied. But what calls for our greater attention is the fact that a state of laxity and feebleness prevails in the ranks of such leadership, which have not forthrightly carried out correct criticism and the necessary appropriate struggle with respect to the tendency of liberalization with regard to the four basic principles. This has to do not just with individual departments or localities, but constitutes a rather general problem. The national forum on problems on the ideological front convened by the party Central Committee was designed precisely on the basis of the spirit of the "Resolution" to proceed from the actualities on the ideological front at present, emphasize the need to strengthen the party's leadership on the ideological front, and use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome the erroneous tendency of deviating from the four basic principles. It is an important means to implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session and an inevitable continuation of the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session; it is entirely consistent with implementing the spirit of the "Resolution."

Li: Please explain what is meant by bourgeois liberalization, and what are the outstanding manifestations in this regard?

Wang: Bourgeois liberalization is an erroneous trend of thinking in violation of, and in opposition to, the four basic principles; its concentrated manifestation is a tendency to deviate from the socialist course and from party leadership, and its core is opposition to party leadership. In ideological circles, some put emancipation of our thinking and the double-hundred principle in opposition to the four basic principles; they take the four basic principles as "four restrictions" or "four sticks"; they take all instances of leadership and guidance as "fetters," and hold that expression and the press must be "absolutely free." For quite a while now, some people have been slandering party leadership, smearing socialism, and disparaging Mao Zedong Thought through writing articles and giving speeches to youths and similar forms; they talk as if our party and socialist system are devoid of any merit, and they even openly propose to "break through the four basic principles." Some trumpet the idea that the New China is not as good as the old China and socialism is not as good as capitalism, disseminating the strange theory that "you love your motherland, but your motherland does not love you." Some entirely deny the results achieved during the 32 years since the founding of our state, alleging that what we have been working on is not scientific socialism but agricultural socialism or even feudal socialism; or they take words and phrases out of the context of Marxist-Leninist works and select only some of them to prove that the so-called three great transformations "were handled erroneously" and that socialism "was initiated too early", and they also want to "institute makeup lessons in capitalism." Some interpret Mao Zedong Thought as "historical idealism coupled with narrow empiricism" and a "small producer's worldview as reflected among the peasants"; they slander the party Central Committee represented by Comrade Mao Zedong as "an antiscientific, antidemocratic and antiprogressive faction with Marxism as its signboard, agricultural socialism as its core, and feudalism as its destination," and seditiously suggest that "the large-scale industry of modern China is bound to train revolutionary warriors who will carry out arduous and devoted struggles against that faction." There are also some who, as communists themselves, call the party leadership "official circles," while professing to be "people's circles" on their own part; they want the party to "rule by doing nothing" or even openly trumpet the idea that writers must "grow a few rebellious bones," advocating that they sing a tune opposite to that of the party. Hence, once an

opinion is expressed, they immediately interpret it as "tyrannical interference" or "swinging the stick," whether it is correct or not. In reality, this is no different from doing whatever they please or whatever they are used to an dis-regarding party leadership and casting off party leadership altogether. Can we look but not see, neither hear nor ask about such a trend of bourgeois liberalization which violates the four basic principles and let it spread unhindered?

Li: But some people think that this tendency of bourgeois liberalization is merely a question among a few people and really nothing serious to warrant our making a fuss about. I think this view is incorrect.

Wang: You are right. Although only a few people exhibit this erroneous tendency, its harm cannot be underestimated. Such an erroneous tendency will dissipate people's fighting will, as it has already produced a centrifugal tendency among some people in respect to the party; among the vast ranks of youths and children, in particular, it is producing a very harmful erosive effect, and it is also being used by those who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos to destroy the hard-won good political situation of stability and unity.

Of course, the appearance of this trend and tendency of bourgeois liberalization has had its social causes, among which the principal ones are the aftermath of the 10 years of internal disturbance and at the same time the erosion by the bourgeois ideology from abroad. Therefore, this is neither strange nor something to be afraid of. The problem lies in whether we dare to handle such an erroneous tendency, whether we dare to grasp it, whether we dare to forthrightly carry out the solemn criticism and necessary struggle against it. If we dare not handle it, grasp it, criticize it, and struggle against it, but let it follow its own course, then it will create very great harm to our socialist cause. The core of bourgeois liberalization is opposition to our party leadership, and our party leadership is in turn the core of the four basic principles and the fundamental guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations and the successful building of a socialist modern power. Without party leadership there can be no socialist system; without party leadership the country will fall apart and become bogged down in turmoil. Are not the serious consequences created by the practice of "kicking away the party committee to make revolution" during the 10 years of our internal disturbance still fresh in our memory?

Li: Some comrades are afraid that such criticism of the tendency of liberalization might perhaps once again lead to the initiation of some movement and the persecution of people, and hence they worry that it might affect the good situation of stability and unity. Does this kind of worry have any foundation?

Wang: The party Central Committee has already decided that no political movements will be initiated from now on. The practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has proved this point. The forum on problems on the ideological front once again stresses first of all that we are not going to resort to any movement, and second, we are not going to resort to any siege. Therefore, any worry in this regard can be entirely dismissed.

The purpose of using the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome the erroneous tendency of liberalization is to cure the sickness and save the patient, and to enable comrades who have made mistakes to distinguish right from wrong, sum up their experience, elevate their thinking, and once again return to the correct path. This is fundamentally different from the evil conduct of Lin Biao and the

"gang of four" in persecuting people under the pretext of criticism; the two should not be confused. Of course, we must accept the lessons of history, and when we launch a criticism we must seek truth from facts; a mistake must be taken precisely as it is, with neither exaggeration nor understatement, much less any simplification or crudeness, or raising it to the level of principle at random. When we proceed with criticism, we must pay attention to methods, we must observe pertinence and precision; but we cannot thereby stop criticizing altogether, or criticize only in a feeble and innocuous way. That would only result in damaging the people's interests and it would also not benefit the mistaken comrades in the speedy correction of their mistakes.

We intend to strengthen unity within and outside the party ranks. But our unity is not the unprincipled kind, nor the kind that deviates from the party's leadership; it is a unity based on the four basic principles. The four basic principles are the political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the people of the whole country. Today there are some people who only allow themselves to express opinions which weaken or deny the four basic principles but do not let others criticize their mistakes. When one criticizes them a little, they immediately say that one is swinging the stick; and there are also some people who sympathize with and support them because of this; this is a rather abnormal phenomenon. If not corrected, this phenomenon will not only impede the strengthening of unity on the basis of the four basic principles, but will also hurt such comrades by allowing their mistakes to develop in a more serious direction. It is our hope that comrades with the tendency of bourgeois liberalization will rectify their attitude, consciously apply the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in order to be able to insist on truth, modify their mistakes, implement the spirit of the "resolution" with one heart and one mind, and thereby make new contributions toward the building of a socialist modern power.

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CSO: 4005/56

PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION EMPHASIZED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Li Li Yanko [2621 1484 2688] "Will Criticism of Bourgeois Liberalization Hinder Stability and Unity?"]

[Text] When we mention criticism of bourgeois liberalization, some comrades immediately manifest certain uneasiness; they are afraid that this will hinder stability and unity. The sentiment of such comrades in treasuring stability and unity is understandable, but their skepticism is groundless.

The situation of stability and unity has not been brought about easily, and therefore we must treasure it and protect it: this is beyond doubt. But we should see that the tendency of bourgeois liberalization precisely constitutes a factor of instability. Why do we say this? Because the four basic principles are the common political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the unity of all the people, and the tendency of bourgeois liberalization is inclined precisely to shake and cast off this foundation. The core of the four basic principles is to adhere to party leadership. It is pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State": "Without the Communist Party of China there would be no new China; similarly, without the Communist Party of China there would be also no modern socialist China." This is a scientific conclusion tested by history. The Communist Party of China is the core of unity of our people of various nationalities. Without this powerful core force, our stage would bog down in a condition of disunity and incoherence like a patch of sand. The painful history of old China during the past 100 years has long proved this point. During the 10-year period of the "cultural revolution," because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trumpeted "kicking away the party committee in order to make revolution," the party leadership was considerably weakened; consequently an overall civil war resulted and the whole country became shaky and unstable. This lesson is indeed still fresh in our minds to all of us. And yet those who are doing their best to cast off party leadership and resort to bourgeois liberalization completely ignore or forget these historical facts. If things were run according to their propositions, the authority of party leadership would no longer exist, the socialist path would no longer be followed, and then the core and foundation of unity of all people of the country would vanish in thin air. What unity could we still speak of? For this reason, our forthright criticism of the tendency of bourgeois liberalization in our resolute effort to eliminate such a negative factor is precisely what we need to protect our stability and unity.

The reason why some comrades are afraid of the possibility that criticism of the tendency of liberalization will hinder our stability and unity is because they have kept in their minds only the historical experience of when our party erroneously launched such criticism, but they forget that our party also has the historical experience of launching such criticism correctly. Such incidents of our party erroneously launching criticism and thereby hindering the unity of the party and the unity of the people have indeed occurred in the history of our party. But apart from such historical experience in mistakes, there has existed in the 60 years of our party history also a great deal of historical experience in launching correct criticism; this should also not be forgotten. Such correct criticism and self-criticism campaigns implemented the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and achieved the goals of both clarifying our thinking and uniting our comrades. The Zunyi conference practiced this kind of criticism and self-criticism; the Yan'an rectification movement also practiced this kind of criticism and self-criticism; in the end, they both resulted in smoothly overcoming leftist and rightist mistakes, considerably promoting the unity and integrity of the whole party politically, ideologically, and organizationally, and creating the indispensable requisite conditions for the victory of the revolutionary wars. It was also precisely because they launched such correct criticism and self-criticism, too, that the Third Plenary Session and the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee achieved very great successes, strongly promoted the unity of the party and the unity of the people, and established the foundation for the good situation of stability and unity. Today, our party and our people are becoming mature and wise precisely through summing up such positive and negative aspects of our historical experience. When we criticize the erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization at present, we must never allow the kind of historical experience in mistakes to be repeated, but we must inherit the correct historical experience and enrich it, develop it. This means that in launching criticism we must pay attention to methods, put emphasis on results, help the criticized, lay out the facts, and reason in the manner of the gentle breeze and drizzling rain, with meticulous pertinence and propriety, and definitely refrain from crudeness and rashness in such operations, from unrestrained criticism and unrestrained struggle, from staging any seige, or launching any movement. We can rest assured that, under the guidance of such correct principles, our criticism of the erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization is bound to achieve the goals of enabling the people of the whole country to distinguish right from wrong, to elevate their thinking, to promote stability and unity, and do a better job in carrying out the construction of the four modernizations.

Some comrades interpret stability and unity as "your being nice to me, my being nice to you, so that everybody is nice" and so that, in the absence of criticism or debate, an atmosphere of affability is forever maintained in a situation like that of a pool of still water: this is biased and also it cannot be achieved in reality. In the process of engaging ourselves in great revolutionary practice, especially at the moment of a historical turning point, people's perception for a while cannot catch up with actual developments and hence they commit this or that mistake: this is unavoidable. Today, after a period of tortuous development in our socialist construction, along with the promotion of the emancipation of our thinking and the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, it is neither surprising nor alarming that some who lack a high socialist consciousness and a strong revolutionary will, especially certain young people who lack political experience, should exhibit the tendency of bourgeois liberalization and other errors. The question is what attitude we should adopt toward such a development. If we insist

on temporary, superficial calm and cover up such errors and do nothing about them, then, in their further development they are bound to gradually radicalize our contradictions, turn small mistakes into big mistakes, and ultimately fail to avoid an explosion and hence destroy the situation of stability and unity. Only by exposing erroneous things in time, constantly launching criticism and self-criticism, nipping mistakes in the bud, and preventing the radicalization of contradictions can we really maintain the uniformity of revolutionary ranks politically and ideologically. This is a fundamental platform for long-term order and stability. Engels said: "Unity by no means precludes mutual criticism, without which unity cannot be attained, without which there would be no mutual understanding, and hence there would also be no unity to speak of" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 423). Only by genuinely, and not perfunctorily, launching criticism can we forge the strong cord which strengthens the unity of our revolutionary ranks and continue to inject fresh vitality into the situation of stability and unity. Stability and unity and the launching of criticism are not mutually exclusive or contradictory to each other, but mutually promotive and complementary to each other. At present, by way of correct criticism and self-criticism and overcoming of bourgeois liberalization and similar erroneous tendencies, we are bound to achieve the further consolidation and development of the good situation of stability and unity.

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CSO: 4005/74

PARTY AND STATE

THEORIES ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRACTICE, KNOWLEDGE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Cui Wenyu [1508 2429 3768]: "Discussions on the Question of the Source of Knowledge"]

[Text] Discussions on the question of the source of knowledge began in 1980 when Ze Ming [0463 7686], in his article "Refute 'Practice Is the Sole Source of Knowledge'," [published] in the Shanghai journal SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCE], No 2, 1980, rejected the viewpoint that practice is the sole source of knowledge. He alleged that by advocating this viewpoint in discussions on the criterion of truth, we would deny that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Then, issue No 5 of the same journal published articles for discussion with Ze Ming which expressed different views on the question of the source of knowledge. Afterward, Shanghai WEN HUI BAO also published a succession of article with different ideas. In ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES], No 9, 1980, an article by Liu Ben [0491 1149]. "The Source of Knowledge and the Criterion of Truth," refuted the viewpoints presented by Ze Ming and upheld the standpoint that practice is the sole source of knowledge. Discussions on the question of the source of knowledge have attracted serious attention throughout the country. Some newspapers and magazines have published a number of opposing articles. Herewith, these arguments are summarized as follows:

The first argument holds that taking practice as the sole source of knowledge is a scientific proposition of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge.

First, according to this argument, we must make clear what practice is. In SHEHUI KEXUE No 6, 1980, articles by Yuan Guiren [5913 6311 0088] and Li Jin [2621 6651] held that, as a motivated, physical activity of man, practice is a complete system of action--that is, people who have a motive use certain material means to bring about a premeditated change in an objective target, and thus achieve objective reality in conformity with their "demand." Practice is such a process of activity. Evidently, practice in the dialectical-materialist sense embodies in its activity all its motives, means, targets, and results. Thus, the meaning of practice as the source of knowledge is twofold: one is the source brought about by knowledge, that is, practical activities playing alternate subjective and objective roles; the other is the origin of the substance of knowledge, being an objective reality as the target of practice. However, both the practical activity and the practical target are the basic factors of practice. Therefore, practice is the sole source of knowledge.

Next, judged by the process of knowledge, only from practice can knowledge emerge. Liu Ben's article [in ZHIXUE YANJIU] held that knowledge is the active reflection of the subject on the object. The establishment of the relationship of knowledge between subject and object is the prerequisite to the emergence of knowledge. However, the relationship between the subject and the objective target is first not a relationship of knowledge but a relationship of practice. The latter is the basis of the former. To achieve knowledge, it is necessary to have an object of knowledge, and this is provided only by practice. Anything that exists objectively cannot directly become the source of knowledge. Only when people take it, in social practice, as the target of practice and bring it into the process of practice can it become an object of knowledge in its direct and practical sense. Furthermore, Liu Ben's article stated that knowledge originates in practice, develops in the process of practice, and finally changes itself physically into the result of practice. At the starting point of knowledge, practice manifests itself as the origin of knowledge; in the process of knowledge, practice manifests itself as the motive force and source of the development of knowledge; and in the end-result of knowledge, practice manifests itself as the criterion for testing truth.

Third, although Marx and Engels never stated clearly that "practice is the sole source of knowledge," many of their writings very definitely embody the idea that practice is the sole source of knowledge. For instance, taking science as an example, Marx and Engels pointed out: "The emergence and the development of science were determined by production right from the beginning," and: "Natural sciences attain their goal and obtain data only due to commerce and industry and due to people's perceptual activities." In WEN HUI BAO on 25 July 1980, articles by Zhang Huajin [1728 5478 6855] and Ma Jihua [7456 4480 5478] held that the "science" mentioned here by the revolutionary teachers--this correct knowledge of mankind--is the crystallization of such practice as mankind's activities in production and commerce, and that social practice (chiefly the practice of production) is the sole source of the emergence and development of science. Comrade Mao Zedong also said that mankind's "correct ideas come from social practice, and from it alone." and that whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it--that is, by living (practicing) in its environment." These statements also clearly and unmistakably explain the fact that practice is the sole source of knowledge.

The second argument holds that practice is not the sole source of knowledge.

First of all, whether in the second article of "On Feuerbach's Outline" by Marx, or in Lenin's remarks that both Marx and Engels "took the criterion of practice as the basis of the materialist theory of knowledge," or in Mao Zedong's statement that "only social practice can be the criterion of truth, and the standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge," should Ze Ming concur, there is no basis to the claim that "practice is the sole criterion of knowledge." From Marx to Lenin, the standpoint of practice always remained in the realm of the theory of knowledge, and practice was taken as the criterion for testing truth and as the basis of the theory of knowledge, but basically they never lumped practice and the "sole source" of knowledge together.

Next, taking practice as the sole source of knowledge means, in fact, eliminating matter from the realm of the theory of knowledge, or epistemology. In WEN HUI BAO 13 June 1980, an article by Wang Zhizhang [3769 0037 3864] held that the primary character of matter is the basic premise of epistemology, they are inseparable, as

the former is the basis of the latter; matter is the origin of the world as well as of epistemology. While criticizing (Machists), Lenin said: "They deny matter. This also means that they deny the external, objective source which we perceive, and deny the objective reality which conforms to our perception. This is their answer to the question of epistemology, which everybody knew well long ago." Taking practice as the sole source of knowledge, and believing that the primary character of matter does not come within the scope of the study of epistemology, in fact means eliminating matter from the realm of epistemology.

Third, judging from the mutual relationship between knowledge and practice, practice is not the sole source of knowledge. The article by Ze Ming held that, first, what knowledge depends on is objective reality beyond man's consciousness; second, knowledge depends on practice to test its conformity to objectivity; and third, knowledge depends on practice as a "channel" and a "crossing point" to approach and attain objective reality. Besides these three meanings, describing practice as the sole source of knowledge means using practice to confuse and substitute for objective reality, which is outside of man's consciousness, and thus to sever the relationship of dependence, which is of absolute meaning, between knowledge and objective reality. Ze Ming stated that both knowledge and practice must "turn in the direction of the objective world." This indeed is the true basis on which knowledge and practice are closely integrated and dialectically unified. Only on this basis can we say that knowledge directs practice, and that practice tests knowledge and promotes the development of knowledge. It is wrong to exaggerate the objective aspect of practice as being the entire objective world, or to exaggerate the material aspect of practice as being matter in general.

Among the views which oppose the assertion that "practice is the sole source of knowledge," there are three different views on the question of what the source of knowledge is:

The first view is that matter is the sole source of knowledge. Because man's knowledge is the reflection of the objective external world in the human brain, objective matter, as the target of knowledge, constitutes the sole source of the content of knowledge. The role of practice is to tap the source of knowledge, to promote the development of knowledge, to test the correctness or incorrectness of knowledge, and to achieve correct knowledge.

The second view is that practice is the origin of knowledge, and that matter is the final source of knowledge. The article by Wang Zhizhang stated that the meaning of "final source" is twofold: one admits that knowledge depends on practice, that knowledge originates directly from practice, and that practice is the origin and the motive force of knowledge; and the other is that the root of knowledge, or the essence of knowledge, is not practice but matter, which is the motive force of knowledge's motive force. Some people have approved this wording not only because it distinguishes between the two different roles played by matter and practice toward knowledge, but also because it avoids any confusion in conception.

The third view holds that the objective world revealed by practice is the source of knowledge. The journal SHEHUI KEXUE in its issue No 5, 1980, carried an article by Zhang Lingyun [1728 3249 0061] stating that practice as a subjective material activity with a definite objective in view is not the origin of knowledge but the means of and

and way to knowledge. However, the objective world alone cannot become the origin of knowledge; only as the target of practice can the objective world become the source of knowledge. Some people believe that this view shows not only that the content of knowledge comes from matter, but also that the target of knowledge is not matter in general but matter being re-formed by practice; at the same time, it also demonstrates the role of practice as the source [of knowledge].

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CS0: 4005/936

PARTY AND STATE

DEVELOPMENT, IMPORTANCE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 4, 1981 pp 1-5

[Article by Lan Ying [5663 3841]: "The New Development in the Ideological Line of Seeking the Truth from the Facts"]

[Text] After following a fighting course of a full 60 years, today our party has begun a new and more arduous long march to build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power.

In the 60 years, one basic experience gained by our party is to uphold the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. When it is upheld, the party's cause prospers and develops; otherwise, it suffers setbacks. It is a basic experience which our party has gained at a tremendous cost.

The Formation of the Ideological Line

At the Army-wide Political Work Conference on 2 June 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Seeking the truth from the facts is the starting point of Mao Zedong Thought--the fundamental point." His words incisively explained the important position of seeking the truth from the facts in Mao Zedong Thought.

"Seeking the truth from the facts" was an old saying in our country. First seen in "Biography of Prince Xian of Hejian, History of Han," it was subsequently passed on as a proverb. Its original meaning was to search for knowledge, find the facts and seek the truth. According to the record in the book, Liu De, the third son of Emperor Jing of Han, who was made the Prince of Hejian, with the posthumous title of Xian, read widely and studied diligently. He constantly collected books and checked the authenticity of the material read by him. He always made a complete copy of the rare editions and genuine scripts collected among the people, rewarded the original owners generously, and carefully studied them. Therefore, Ban Gu, in his historical records, praised him for "learning eagerly from the ancients and seeking the truth from the facts." Taking over the phrase, our party gave it a new meaning. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Facts" are all things which exist objectively; "truth" is the internal links of the objective things, viz., the laws; "seek" is when we

study, analyze and master the laws of the objective things. The "Resolution on the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" passed at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made an even clearer summary of its meaning: "Seeking the truth from the facts is to start from reality and link theory with reality; it is to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution." It is our party's ideological line.

However, the formation and development of the ideological line underwent a tortuous and complex process. The manifestation of the essence of the long struggles against leftwing and rightwing opportunist errors waged by our party from its creation until the Zunyi Meeting was whether to uphold this ideological line. Meanwhile, it was after the lessons of failures and setbacks time and time again that our party gradually formed the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. What possessed a decisive significance was the Yanan rectification movement begun in 1942 when rectification of the three styles, i.e., academic, party and writing styles, was proposed, in order to combat dogmatism, sectarianism and stereotyped party writing. Its core was to summarize the errors of Wang Ming's leftwing adventurism and the bitter lesson of its serious damage to the party, to criticize the subjectivism of severing theory from practice, and to form the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. Twice Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the inscription "seeking the truth from the facts" for the Yanan Central Party School, which were hung in its new auditorium. Subsequently, the phrase was included in the party constitution of the "Seventh Congress" and formally made the party's ideological line. It was a great achievement of the Yanan rectification movement and the "Seventh Congress."

Considering himself a "hundred percent Bolshevik," Wang Ming placed himself above the party and displayed his arrogance for a time. He held two "talismans" in his hands: Foreign dogmas to intimidate people; a club to promote "cruel struggles and ruthless attacks" in the party and create a patriarchy. Forcefully promoting leftwing opportunism, he once pushed China's revolution to a hopeless situation, reducing the party members in the country from 300,000 to 30,000 and the Red Army from 300,000 men to close to 30,000 and losing all revolutionary bases beyond the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Beginning with the Zunyi Meeting called in January 1935, the party first concentrated on correcting Wang Ming's military errors, established Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership position in the Party Central Committee, and saved the party and the revolution at a most critical moment. The further criticism of Wang Ming's leftwing errors in ideology and theory was not completed until the Yanan rectification movement. In 1936 and 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong, in the caves of Yanan, wrote such brilliant articles as "the Strategic Issue of China's revolutionary War," "on Practice," "on Contradiction" and "the Strategic Issue of Guerrilla Warfare against Japan." In 1941, he produced "a Study of Our Reform," "Rectify the Party Style" and "Combat Stereotyped Party Writing." These articles summarized theoretically the experiences of China's revolution and the fight against the erroneous tendencies in the party, scientifically analyzed all leftwing and rightwing opportunist ideas and their theoretical roots, and

laid the theoretical foundation for the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. Spreading from Yanan to all base areas, the rectification movement launched in 1942 was a great Marxist ideological educational movement. In the movement, the party further summarized the experiences of success of the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles led by Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De and made a thorough study of the bitter lessons of Wang Ming's dogmatist errors, thereby enabling the entire party to intensify its understanding of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, learn to start from reality in everything, interpret and reform the world according to its true features, and greatly raise its consciousness in upholding the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. On the foundation of forming this ideological line throughout the party, our party's lines and policies and all items of its work got onto the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary track of integrating theory with reality. In the course of the 28 years of our democratic revolution, the progress in the 14 years prior to the Zunyi Meeting was made in the midst of continuous setbacks. In the 10 years beginning with the Zunyi Meeting, especially after the Yanan rectification movement, from the "7th Congress" to the "8th Congress," a new period of prosperity and development emerged in our party. We won the victory of the new democratic revolution and smoothly accomplished the transition to socialism. One may say that these victories were the victories of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts.

The Development of the Ideological Line

After entering the socialist period, our party again underwent the severe tests of successes and failures, and the experiential lessons again manifested concentratively in whether the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts was upheld. This ideological line was followed in the 7 years of socialist reform. After the start of the general building of socialism and simultaneous with the successes in the first 10 years, such errors of impetuosity and rashness as the "communist wind" and "boastfulness" had already appeared. In the last 10 years, they developed to the severe disaster of the "Great Cultural Revolution." In the first 2 years after smashing the "gang of four," the error of the "two whatevers" occurred. Not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee was the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts restored, basically rectifying the leftwing errors in the guiding ideology, bringing order out of chaos, and carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future. The Third Plenary Session was another great turning point in our party's history; it was the restoration and development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under new historical conditions. The substance in this aspect is extremely rich. We have a relatively deep understanding of the following points:

1. Upholding practice as the only criterion to test truth is an important development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under the new historical conditions.

Utilizing the "Great Cultural Revolution" erroneously launched and led by Comrade Mao Zedong, the Lin and Jiang counterrevolutionary cliques usurped the

party and seized power, spread idealism and metaphysics, wantonly emasculated the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and turned upside down the dialectic relations between the subjective and the objective and between theory and practice. After smashing the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng followed the long unchanged erroneous policy of the "two whatevers" and seriously blocked the progress of the four modernizations. The nation-wide discussion of the criterion of truth broke down the fetters of the "two whatevers," and a lively atmosphere of diligently studying the new conditions and solving the new problems emerged. The Third Plenary Session made a high appraisal of the discussion of the criterion of truth and established anew the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts.

Practice as the criterion to test truth was not a new issue, for it had long been brilliantly expounded by the proletarian revolutionary teachers. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out clearly: "The criterion of truth can only be social practice." "Truth is discovered by means of practice, and verified and developed by means of practice." "Practice, understanding, practice again, and understanding again." It is the epistemology of dialectic materialism and the theoretical foundation of the party's ideological line. Theory develops alongside the development of social practice. Under the historical conditions after the downfall of the "gang of four," launching the discussion on the criterion of truth, criticizing the error of the "two whatevers," and proposing anew the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts took on new characteristics and new contents. From the Third to the Sixth Plenary Session, it was under the guidance of this ideological line that our party formulated and implemented a series of correct policies and we won worldwide attention with the achievements in the various items of our work. Seeking the truth from the facts, the Party Central Committee proposed the political line of shifting the emphasis of work to the socialist modernization construction, solved the major historical issues and the right and wrong of the party leaders, refuted the erroneous theory of the "continuous revolution" and the political slogan of "taking the class struggle as the key link," factually analyzed the class situation, and proposed new tasks and new policies on political, economic and cultural constructions. On a nationwide scale, it launched the work of redressing the unjust, false and wrong cases and of implementing the party policies, especially the complete rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, the greatest unjust case in our party history, at the Fifth Plenary Session. Had we failed to take practice as the criterion and start from the objective reality, had we departed from the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, it would have been impossible to rectify all the unjust, false and wrong cases. With a profound significance, the discussion on the criterion of truth armed the entire party and the entire people with the epistemology of dialectic materialism, inspecting work, summarizing experiences, distinguishing the right and wrong, upholding truth and correcting mistakes by means of practice. The discussion laid the foundation for the lines and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session, opened the way for emancipating thinking, overcoming mental ossification and correcting the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers," and provided an objective criterion to bringing order out of chaos and making a complete overhaul.

2. Upholding ideological emancipation and upholding the four basic principles constitute another important development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under the new historical conditions.

Looking through history, we find that ideological emancipation always occurred in periods of momentous turns of history, such as the one hundred schools of thought contending during China's Warring States and the "4 May" Movement in its modern history, the "Renaissance" in Europe, etc. All the ideological emancipation movements occurred when history posed brand-new issues while the traditional old concepts fettered man's ideological development and blocked the study and solution of the new issues with new concepts and new ideas. There were two ideological emancipation movements in our party history, viz., the Yanan rectification movement of 1942 and the ideological emancipation proposed by the Third Plenary Session. The point in common of the two movements is to establish the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, unifying theory with practice and the subjective with the objective. The distinction is that the former dealt with emancipation from the ideological fetters of Wang Ming's dogmatic errors and solution of the issue of integrating Marxism-Leninism with China's revolution, while the latter is for the purpose of emancipating our mind from the erroneous ideology of the "two whatevers," purging the influence of the long-standing leftwing guiding ideology and personality cult in the socialist construction, restoring the true features of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and completely and accurately mastering and applying the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to the study and solution of the new conditions and new issues emerging in the course of the four modernizations.

To emancipate the mind, we must break down superstition, respect science, understand things according to their true features, and find the guiding principle to reform the world. Its foundation rests on seeking the truth from the facts. To emancipate the mind, we must combat mental ossification. There were all kinds and all types of mental ossification in history. For a decade or more, the mental ossification in our party also had its special characteristics, such as turning theories into dogmas, idolizing the leaders, "obeying literally" each word and each phrase, etc. Such decadent matters were in fact reflections of the feudal, bourgeois and small production ideologies in our party, resulting in the personality cult, life tenure of the leading cadres and arbitrary decision making by the leaders. They deeply fettered people's thinking, making it impossible to seek the truth from the facts. The Third Plenary Session broke through the layers of "forbidden areas" installed by the "two whatevers," proposed the policy of ideological emancipation, asking us to face reality and understand and solve the issues according to the objective reality, and pushed our party's cause forward.

Emancipating the mind and upholding the four basic principles are consistent with each other. The four basic principles are the starting point and the end-result of ideological emancipation and the common political foundation for the unity of the party and all nationalities in the country. Without them, from them, it will be impossible to correctly implement the policy of ideological emancipation. Ideological emancipation is to free ourselves from the

personality cult of the "two whatevers" and from ignorance and superstition. Only thus will we be able to learn, study and realize the four basic principles by seeking the truth from the facts. Therefore, apart from ideological emancipation, we cannot begin to talk about the scientific Marxist-Leninist attitude, and nor will we truly uphold the four basic principles. Today there are two kinds of misunderstandings, placing the four basic principles and ideological emancipation on opposite sides. One misunderstanding is that the four basic principles fetter people's mind and block ideological emancipation. The other is the feeling of apprehension and misgiving about ideological emancipation, even to the extent of fearing that it may become excessive, turning a blind eye to the new conditions, new issues and new things. Misinterpretations of the four basic principles and ideological emancipation, both misunderstandings are extremely harmful.

3. Starting from the national conditions to pursue the socialist modernization construction is yet another important development of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts under the new historical conditions.

When summarizing China's revolutionary experiences, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: The course of China's revolution was that of the growing integration of the universal truths of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's revolution. As proved by historical experiences, whether in the period of the democratic revolution or in that of the socialist construction, we must give serious attention to the study of our national conditions, and whether we act accordingly is the key to the success or failure of our cause. To correctly understand the national conditions, we must practice repeatedly. In the democratic revolution period, only after many setbacks did we clarify our national conditions and find the way by surrounding the cities with the villages and armed seizure of political power. In the socialist construction period, we likewise followed a winding path. The main reason for the long existence of the leftwing errors was that we departed from the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts and made subjective deviations in our understanding of the national conditions.

Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] pointed out: "Ours is a country of 1 billion population with 800 million peasants; it is in such a country that we are carrying out construction." These words clearly show that we have a large population, a weak foundation and a low production level, and that we entered socialism from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial state without passing through the stage of the high development of capitalism. Under this situation, when pursuing the socialist construction, we must not sever ourselves from reality and be impatient for success, but must act according to our capabilities, plant our feet on solid ground and advance steadily. As pointed out by Comrade Chen Yun, we must "feel the rocks when fording the river." After the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee, in accordance with the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, repeatedly stressed the study of our national conditions and, starting from the national conditions, proposed the policy of "readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and improving" on the national economy, firmly rectifying the long-standing leftwing errors in economic work. At the same time, it formulated the important policy of

"further readjusting the economy and further stabilizing the political situation," preliminarily reversed the stagnant and confused state of the national economy caused by the 10-year calamity, and began to solve the problems of proportionate maladjustment and irrational structure of the national economy left down through many years. However, we are still faced with many problems and difficulties in economic work. To follow a path of the socialist modernization construction adjusted to our national conditions, we must continuously summarize and develop our experiences by means of practice. To start out from our national conditions, while we must recognize the basic fact that the economy and culture of our country are still relatively backward, we must also realize that we have made achievements in our economic and cultural constructions and gained favorable conditions at home and abroad; while guarding against impatience, we must also combat pessimism; we must raise our consciousness and overcome blindness in action. We deeply believe that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, we will gradually build our country into a modern, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power.

The Immortal Ideological Line

Seeking the truth from the facts is a political quality required of each and every Communist Party member and cadre as well as the ideological line of our party.

Our party shoulders the historical mission of leading the one billion people in the socialist modernization construction. As stated by Comrade Hu Yaobang, "the key for the completion of this task rests with our party." "Today, the people of all nationalities in the country place their hopes on our party, and the people of the whole world are looking attentively at us." How to improve and build our party properly according to the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts reestablished by the Third Plenary Session is a momentous issue linked with the success or failure of our party's cause.

Looking at the party's ideological conditions today, we find that, as the leftwing ideology exercised a deep influence for decades, its elimination will require a tremendous effort. For a long time, some comrades, in particular, have formed such ideas as left is better than right; left is safer than right; rather left than right; left is a question of method and right is a question of standpoint; left is to revolutionize and right is not to revolutionize; left is the petit bourgeois ideology and right is the bourgeois ideology; etc. These erroneous ideas seriously block the implementation of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts. In our inner-party struggles, we must adopt the scientific attitude of seeking the truth from the facts on the erroneous ideological tendencies, combating the right when there is right, combating the left when there is left, combating the right while guarding against the left, and combating the left while guarding against the right. However, over a long time, an erroneous guiding ideology has formed in our party: It seems that only rightism is found in a socialist period, not leftism; that we can only combat rightism, not leftism. This ideology has seriously damaged our party's superior tradition of seeking the truth from the

facts. Reviewing our party's historical lessons, we find that, in the democratic revolution period, we made leftwing errors three times, each time more serious than the previous one. Why was it so? Here we have a particularly important lesson: What was obviously leftwing was called rightwing, combating the leftwing with the leftwing and becoming ever more leftwing. Wang Ming's leftwing dogmatism called Comrade Li Lisan's leftwing error rightwing and complained that it was not leftwing enough. As a result, Wang Ming's leftwing error developed to the peak. In the late fifties after liberation, there was already the magnification of the class struggle and such leftwing errors as "issuing arbitrary orders," "communist wind" and "boastfulness" which should have been corrected, yet the Lushan Meeting combated the so-called rightwing error and attacked Comrade Peng Dehuai and a large group of good comrades who had the courage to speak the truth and uphold the principle of seeking the truth from the facts. The situation reached the peak by the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Utilizing the so-called "anti-rightism" and "anti-revisionism," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously attempted to usurp the party and seize power. We must never forget such bitter lessons of history repeated over and over again. As leftwing errors are more deceptive and misleading, it is more difficult to rectify them. We must continue to purge the leftwing poison of long-standing, for only thus will we unify the thinking of the entire party to the lines and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session and to the "Resolution" of the Sixth Plenary Session.

To uphold the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, we must further strengthen the democratic life of the entire party, follow democratic centralism and reinforce collective leadership. Our party created an entire set of principles on handling inner-party relations in the Yanan rectification period. Such principles include, for instance, "say all you know and say it without reserve," "blame not the speaker, but be warned by his words" and "correct the mistakes if you have made any and guard against them if you have not;" in regard to those making mistakes, there must be no "finishing off with one blow," but "observe and help" and "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the illness to save the patient;" there must be no "cruel struggle and ruthless attack," but the formula of "unity--criticism--unity." The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" passed at the Fifth Plenary Session contain many clear and important provisions on developing inner-party democracy and strengthening the party's democratic system, in order to protect the democratic rights of each and every party member. Meanwhile, they also provide that the party organizations of all levels must uphold the collective leadership and oppose arbitrary decision making by individuals, absolutely banning "one man's words" and patriarchy. All these are important principles to assure organizationally the implementation of the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts.

To uphold the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, it is, in terms of the party members, a test of the political quality, which is not easily attained. Though wishing to act according to the principle of seeking the truth from the facts, some people are unable to do so because of the lack of vision and the failure to distinguish the true and the false. Others,

while able to recognize the actual state of affairs, are afraid to uphold the principle because of selfish considerations, the desire to play safe and the fear for their own interest. A small number of people tells lies to deceive others and protect themselves, while some few evil individuals benefit themselves at the expense of others, unscrupulously distorting the facts, turning the black and white around, creating rumors to hurt others, hitting a person when he is down and attacking the good people, caring nothing about the truth. Except the individual evildoers, the problems of the overwhelming majority of the comrades should be solved by ideological education. Each and every party member must vigorously study theories, strengthen the cultivation of their ideology and moral character, and raise their communist ideological awareness of serving the people. The party organizations must enforce discipline and mete out rewards and punishments strictly and fairly. Those who have no fear of attack and retaliation, who have the courage to uphold the principle of seeking the truth from the facts and who tell the truth in defense of the interests of the party and the people should be commended. Those who falsify and misrepresent, who rely on lies to gain honor and position, or who cause serious losses by conniving with, inducing or coercing their subordinates to tell lies must be handled according to party discipline.

At any time and under any circumstance, we must firmly implement the ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts, strengthen and improve the party's leadership, raise its fighting power, build it into a firm core more mature in politics, more unanimous in ideology, more consolidated in organization, and able to rally and lead the people of all nationalities in the country in the socialist modernization construction and, with one heart and one mind, undaunted by repeated setbacks, struggle vigorously to make our country into a highly democratic and highly civilized modern socialist power!

Let our party's ideological line of seeking the truth from the facts shine forever!

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PHOTO SHOWS SOLDIERS TRAINING WITH ANTITANK MISSILES

Beijing BINGQI ZHISHI [ORDNANCE KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 5, 1981 outside back cover

[Photo by Wang Xiao]



Standing in combat readiness

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HUBEI VICE GOVERNOR ADDRESSES PEOPLE'S CONGRESS ON PUBLIC SECURITY

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 81 p 2

[Excerpts of Hubei Vice Governor Li Jun's [2621 0193] report to the 10th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hubei Provincial People's Congress: "Further Strengthen Public Order and Public Security Work"]

[Text] On 24 September, Vice Governor Li Jun delivered a report on further strengthening the social order and public security work to the 10th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hubei Provincial People's Congress. Excerpts of the report follow:

Since the Ninth Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Hubei Provincial People's Congress, under the unified leadership of the provincial party committee, we have made conscientious efforts to implement the guidelines of the five-metropolitan-city forum and the Hubei provincewide forum on public security. Strong measures have been taken to consolidate the social order in a way that takes into account reality, with initial success. Today, the masses have been further mobilized to deal blows to the arrogant criminals. The result is a reduction in the number of heinous crimes such as murder, robbery, and rape, along with initial improvements in the outlook of public order in such public places as railway stations, wharves, shopping centers and bustling city streets. But what we have achieved is merely a start; problems still exist in our work. Further measures and efforts will have to be made in order to achieve a complete turnaround in our public security work. At present, specific regulations should be enacted in accordance with the party's policies and the laws of the state in order to solve problems and meet the needs of the struggle.

--Good services in the form of detention and investigation will continue. Services provided in the form of detention and investigation of criminals at large and major suspects of crime will have an important effect on the curbing of crime and the maintenance of social order and public security. Detention and investigation centers should be established in prefectures and municipalities. At the same time, district public security organs in various counties and cities should be delegated temporary authority to track down and investigate crimes. The targets of detention and investigation will include: suspects of misdemeanors, suspects of crimes committed by individuals who have no fixed address, and suspects of repeated and organized crimes who need to be detained and investigated; suspects of misdemeanors who have refused to tell the truth about their names,

addresses, and where they come from; suspected criminals caught and sent by the masses and captured by the night patrols who must be detained for interrogation. Upon the completion of investigations, we will deal with each case on its own merits. Except for pending cases awaiting criminal proceedings, those who have committed misdemeanors and who do not have to face criminal charges or other charges levelled by public security organs should be released immediately or sent to the places of their domicile for settlement through the detention and repatriation centers of relevant prefectural and municipal civic affairs departments. Responsible units will have to suggest alternatives in the cases of criminals who need to be rehabilitated through labor and who come from other provinces and cities outside Hubei Province. In principle, public security organs in the places of their domicile should take over such cases. If they cannot be sent back there, labor rehabilitation units in Hubei Province should be responsible for their rehabilitation. As soon as they are rehabilitated, they should be sent to the places of their domicile for settlement. Fugitives from the countryside of this province who need to be rehabilitated through labor should undergo rehabilitation at the local labor rehabilitation units in accordance with the approved regulations. As soon as they are rehabilitated, they should be sent to the places of their domicile for settlement.

--Prostitution should be resolutely banned. During past years, whores and prostitutes have been active in cities and towns of this province. Their appearance has had a serious harmful impact on our social morality and social order, and therefore should be resolutely banned. The major targets of attack are those elements who force, instigate and lure women to engage in prostitution and whorehouse owners who profit from encouraging women to engage in such business. All of them should be severely punished in accordance with the law. Patronizers of whorehouses are punishable by administrative detention, fine and condemnation. They are usually ordered to produce a written agreement not to repeat the same wrongdoing again in the form of an apology. If they are identified as staff members and workers of the state, disciplinary action should be taken against them. Cases of a serious nature, those who refuse to correct their mistakes after repeated education, should be committed to labor rehabilitation institutions. Women engaged in prostitution should be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Women without decent jobs who are found guilty of engaging in prostitution and who refuse to correct their wrongdoings regardless of repeated education should be detained and rehabilitated through labor. Women with decent jobs who engage in prostitution and who fail to transform themselves through education should be treated in much the same way. Rural women who engage in prostitution in cities should be sent back to their homes in the countryside, where they should be placed under the strict surveillance of production teams or their families after undergoing rehabilitation. Rural women who refuse to correct their wrongdoings through repeated education and who return to the cities to continue to engage in prostitution should be detained and rehabilitated through labor by authorities in the localities where they commit such crime. Individual education should be made available to those women who engage in prostitution occasionally and sporadically in order to help them correct their wrongdoings and prevent them from sinking deeper into the quagmire of sin.

--Gambling and feudal superstitious practices should be resolutely banned. Gambling and feudal superstitious practices are bad habits left by the old society

and should be resolutely banned because of their negative effect on the people's productive activities and daily life as well as on social order and public security. We must educate the cadres and the masses in the socialist legal system and expose the harmful effect of gambling and feudal superstitious practices. The broad masses of cadres and people must be mobilized to help the government resolutely stop the gambling and feudal superstitious practices. Counties and municipalities should be authorized to issue circulars and decrees to this effect, while communes and townships should be authorized to round up currently active gamblers and their sponsors as well as fortunetellers and their followers, give them education in the legal system and insist that they sign a written pledge to abide by law in exchange for lenient treatment. If they relapse, they may be imprisoned, fined and condemned in accordance with an executive order as called for in the "PRC Statute Governing the Administration of Public Security and the Companion Penal Code." Furthermore, their gambling money and equipment used in feudal superstitious practices may be confiscated. For gamblers and their sponsors and fortunetellers and their followers who refuse to correct their wrongdoings regardless of repeated education and who commit crimes of a serious nature, punishment may be meted out in accordance with the law. Severe punishment may be meted out to those identified as state cadres.

--Measures should be taken to safeguard the railways, shipping lines, highways, and communication lines as well as radio, television, postal and telecommunications installations. Public order in some railway stations, bus stops, harbors, wharves and some sections of railways, highways, shipping and communications lines has been disrupted; cargo has been stolen or carried away by cheating. Even worse is the sabotage of the technical installations of radio and television stations, postal and telecommunications offices. We must conscientiously and thoroughly implement the decrees and regulations governing their safe operation issued by the Central Committee, the State Council and the departments concerned. Various localities and units should teach the masses to love the property of the state, while the militia and public security organizations are urged to effectively safeguard the communications and telecommunication installations as a matter of importance. The departments concerned must commend and give cash awards to units and individuals for doing an excellent job in this field. Units and individuals found guilty of stealing and looting cargo and sabotaging various installations should be dealt with in accordance with the law on a case-by-case basis. Cases of serious nature are liable for prosecution in accordance with the provisions of the criminal law. Resolute measures must be taken to retrieve the stolen cargo or loot or to obtain compensation for the economic loss.

--Active efforts must be made to enforce covenants entered into by villagers or civilians. The covenants formulated and enforced by the villagers or civilians are good measures for the masses to exercise self-control. This form of covenants should be adopted and enforced by all villages and cities throughout the province. Brigades in the countryside and the residential committees in cities and townships should be authorized to enact such covenants. The mass line should be followed in developing the covenants, which should take into account actual local conditions and should be couched in simple, clear-cut and easily comprehensible language. The contents of the covenants should in no way conflict with the state laws now in force.

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